2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Soiya, Ma Ngonde

maids and always carries a mat or cloth to screen her face from her father and his contemporaries, her father's full sisters, her elder brothers,[1] and her 'mothers-in-law' (*abakamwana*).[2] These she must fear and respect (*akutila*) and so avoid. Her father-in-law and his brothers she avoids altogether from the time of her engagement, or at least after she has reached the age of 8 or 9. Her companions do not *akutila* with her, though those of them who are already betrothed will, of course, avoid their own fathers-in-law. [88]

During the period of seclusion the girls have two specific tasks: to weave the fine mats used as beds, and to fetch firewood. Every bride should take to her husband's home at least one fine mat (*akupasa*) which she has made herself, as well as several coarse ones (*amifyo*),[3] and weaving a fine mat is a lengthy task, occupying a skilled woman a month. Each girl weaves for herself, but the firewood that each must fetch is stacked in the bride's mother's loft. The bride also occupies herself hammering out bark-cloth, pleating it for the strip worn between the legs, and decorating bark-cloth belts (*vide* plate 3), so that she may have the fresh ones required during the ritual, and a supply to take with her to her husband's; but this work is not emphasized as an obligation: rather it is a recreation. Women take great pride in the decoration of their belts—we watched several brides making them and handing them round for the admiration of their fellows. The maids may work in the fields if required to do so, but the bride herself does not, and 'she gets fat because she does not have much work to do'. The whole ritual normally lasts about three months, but if, for some reason such as a pressing need to go out to work, the husband is in a hurry for its completion, various acts may be telescoped. The time-table depends primarily on when the marriage-cattle and food for the various feasts are ready. [28 9] [29] [33]

From the time of first menstruation until she does it ritually, a bride should neither wash nor oil herself. The prohibition is felt to be a very onerous one and some girls now break it, but women said 'in the old days we did not wash'. 'Girls nowadays are more cunning. We were afraid.' [88] 515 177

[1] Some informants denied that she avoided father's sisters or brothers. Others insisted that she must avoid them because 'brothers are fathers, and father's full sisters are father'. [36]

[2] I.e. her husband's own mother and other women he calls mother. In this account the plural 'mothers' indicates own and classificatory mothers. [60]

[3] Nyakyusa beds are made of layers of mats laid on rollers between two logs at head and feet. One chief's bed we noted was made up of sixty-eight mats. [352]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 F3417 Nganda F3417
Nyakyusa
Selya, Mwigonde

my father-in-law, father.'[1] She says: 'I have grown up finally, I am a woman.' 'As I have grown up, I am a daughter-in-law (*ukwemwene*).' 'If a girl looks at her father (during the ritual) she is proud (*umutinge*).' 'She used to be beaten if she looked at her father's friends. She is proud if she does. Her mothers will beat her.' She also fears ridicule—'We *ukutila* because we laugh at one another'—and mystical emotions. 'If she does not *ukutila* (her father) she gets thin and brown. Since she has grown up she must avoid people.' 'She would become light in colour if she did not *ukutila* during the ritual.' 'She will grow thin and her body will be brown instead of black. We think that ugly.'

Mwandisi (the old blind chief), asked why a bride should *ukutila* her father, replied:

She avoids him and he gives her a gift to break the taboo. During puberty it is taboo. Kyala has created us so. Because if her father looks at her she grows thin, those below [i.e. the shades] are angry.

QUESTION: And those above?

MWANDISI: Yes! Do they not injure them? Do they not give those who throw out the liver a bull that they may eat?

Mwakiombe (the doctor), asked the same question, replied:

It is because of the in-law relationship (*ukwemwene*). If I, the father, look at her she will grow thin and waste away, but at the beer we give her gifts of bark-cloth to break the taboo and say: 'You have come out (*amukile*). You have come out, my child. I am sorry about the fire, I am sorry.' Then she looks at us. She avoids me, the father, and my younger brothers and my fellows in the age-village who are all, according to our customs, her fathers.

Ukutila of her mother-in-law (shielding her face with a mat or skin) was interpreted by Mwakiombe in this way:

It is on account of the dignity of her mother-in-law who says: 'She is my child, see, she respects and avoids me, saying: "She bore my husband."' I am her superior. She acknowledges my dignity. She is wise, she respects me, her mother.'

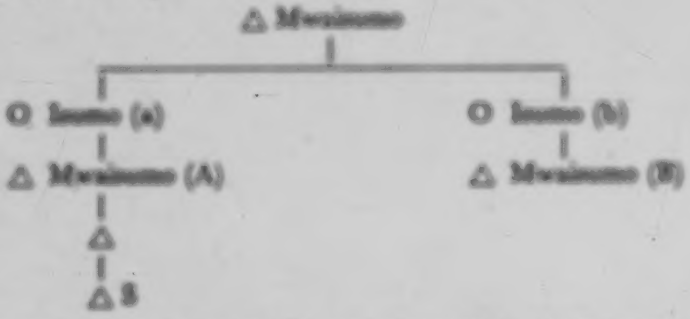
Everyone was agreed that 'the bull of puberty' (*ingombe jobusuga*) is both a sacrifice to the shades, who are asked to bless the girl and make her fertile, and a feast for the mothers and that, strictly, it is only brought if the girl is virgin. 'We throw the *ijisuga* meat in the banana grove and put a stone on top of it so that those below may eat, and we pray that the girl may bear a

[1] Some aspects of father-in-law and daughter-in-law avoidance are discussed in *Good Company*, pp. 83-6.

2: Wilson E-9 (1934-1938)1957 F'N17 Ngonde F'N17
Nyakyusa

sister immediately older than herself, the sister's daughter, and the sister immediately younger than herself, took part.

At the ritual of sprouting, the principals are the children and grandchildren of the slayer and the slain, their brothers, their mother's kin (*abipasi*) and their wives. We were not able to watch any case of treatment against *ulalanga* and are not certain exactly how far the infection is thought to spread. Our informants were agreed that the number of kinsmen concerned is less than in a twin ritual, but we traced one case in which a minor chief, Mwainumo (B.), forbade the father of a man who had killed S., the great grandson of Mwainumo's mother's sister, to enter his country lest he spread disease among his relatives.



At a ritual to 'rot the ropes' those concerned are the descendants of the one who has been bound and their wives, siblings and siblings' children. At the one ritual we saw there were present 27 members of the dead man's own lineage (3 sons, 2 younger half-brothers, 1 full sister, 4 half-sisters, 3 sons, 5 daughters, 2 grandsons, 7 granddaughters), one wife, the wives of 4 sons, one father's sister's son, one son and 6 daughters of his sisters or half-sisters.

The ritual for protection against sorcery which we attended was performed at the home of the senior brother (heir to his father) of the dead woman. There were present her two brothers, their wives and children; her father's brother's daughter; two wives and one daughter of her sister's sons; her mother, two of her mother's brothers with their wives and children; two of her mother's sisters and the daughters of one of them. Her husband (who lived next door) could not take the medicine at his in-law's house, but some was sent for him to use at his home with his wives and kinsfolk.

In the simple ritual of prayer to the shades the senior kinsman who offers the prayer and blows out water acts alone but, if there

2: Wilson E-5 (1936-1938)1937 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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673 referred to is not necessarily an ancestor of those who speak of him. In the rituals the participants look towards the direction from which their ancestors came, and the details vary both with the cultural area and with the particular lineage, but similarity in ritual observance is no ground for claiming kinship. The one recognized bond is common participation—attending one another's funerals and observing the rules of avoidance.

The segmentation of lineages is by houses. Ties between full siblings are closer than those between half-siblings and this is immediately apparent in the attendance at, and participation in rituals, as the genealogy of Mwakibete (Table (a)) shows. Full siblings, particularly successive and linked siblings, are closely identified. The most important link between men or women is inheritance. The heir takes the name and social position of the deceased, succeeding to his or her rights and obligations, and observing the same avoidances. 'A shade is resurrected in the body of his child.' The heir is a junior[1] man or woman of the lineage, preferably a full brother or sister, but possibly a half-brother or sister, or parallel cousin, or a son, or brother's son, or brother's daughter.

613 601 When the heir is a son, or brother's son or daughter, the separation so strictly maintained between generations is bridged for that individual only; he or she changes generation and a man is treated by his former comrades as a 'father' and referred to by his wives as 'father-in-law', even though they are still his wives and live with him.

The identification of alternate generations is expressed in calling grandchildren ('the comrades of the shades') to eat the sacrificial meat or fish, or take the first sip of beer, as well as in the absence of taboos between affines of such alternate generations. A woman does *not* avoid her husband's grandfather. Thus, though the lineage is treated in some respects as a unit, one man (or woman) of it being able to replace another and override the distinction between successive generations, the unity is not pushed as far as among many other peoples, such as the Fondo, where the form of behaviour appropriate to a father-in-law applies to *all* senior members of his lineage irrespective of generation.

[71]

613 554 Differences in status within the lineage are clearly shown in the rituals. In their observance seniors precede juniors, men precede

[1] If there is no junior full brother, a senior full brother may inherit provided that he has not previously inherited from his father and so become 'father'.

½ [Category 11b, facing p. 270. – Analysis]

2: Willem E-5 (1934-1938)1937 FN17 Ngonde FN17 Nyakyusa

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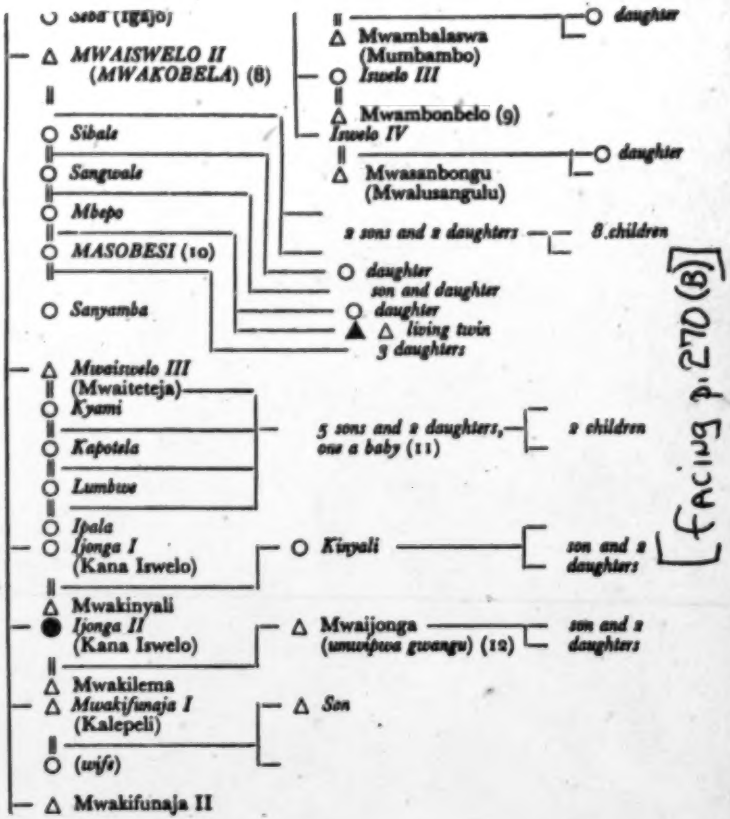
(n) Living at a distance, as did not come to initiation.
(d) Inherited by Mwakalonde.
(s) He knew neither the father of the twins.

Kagile born Ijenga
Mwangaga (a/c Mwakilonde)
Mwakagile I (eldest grandc)
Kagile
Mwakagile II
Mwakalonde (+g)
Mwakajinde
Mwakalonde
Mwakajinde
Mwakajinde
Mwakilonde
Mwakilonde I
Mwakilonde II
Jiwe
Mwakajinde I (Kalingali)
(wife)
Mwakilonde III
Mwakilonde III
Mwakajinde II
Mwakajinde III
Mwakajinde
Mwakajinde
Mwakajinde

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

Key:
Persons participating in the ritual shown in italics.
△ ○ = alive. ▲ ● = dead.

NOTES:
(1) Do not come.
(2) 'Owner' of the ritual.
(3) Took medicine.
(4) At home of brother of mother of twins.
(5) Moved to Mwipande.
(6) Sick for 'washing'.
(7) Chief at Masoko.
(8) Father of the twins.
(9) Clerk at Tukuyu.
(10) Mother of the twins.
(11) The third daughter is 'a wanderer with no home'.
(12) He left children and went away. He himself had twins before.
(13) Living at a distance, so did not come to induction.
(14) Inherited by Mwakabenule.
(15) He lives near the father of the twins.



[Facing p. 270 (8)]

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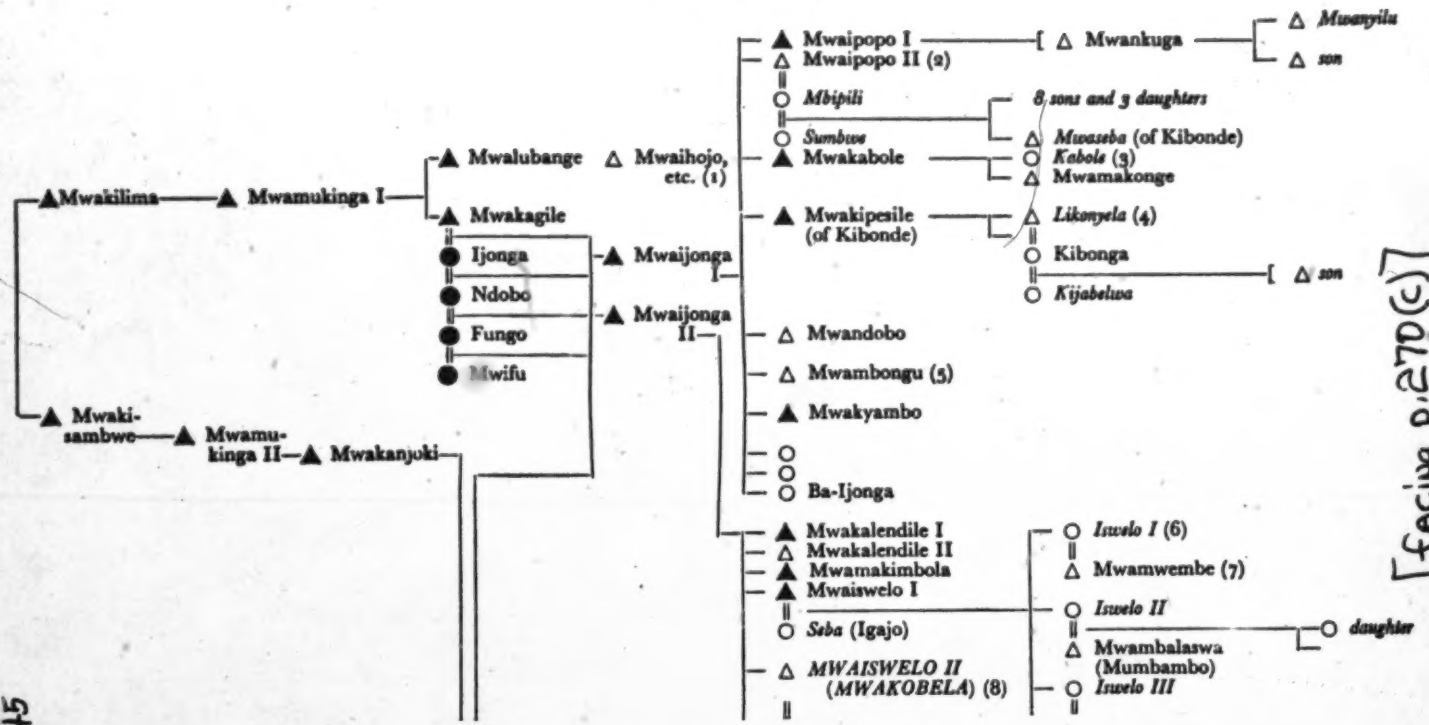
2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

TABLE (a) *See pp.* 153—162.

GENEALOGY OF MWAKOBELA
(TWIN RITUAL)



[facing p. 270(c)]

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TABLE (b) *See pp.* 153–162.

THE RELATIVES OF MWAKOBELA'S WIFE

Mwamasobesi = Ipopo
Mwaipopo (At his place and his wives and children)
Mwamasika = Masobesi (she is keeping her sister company)
Masobesi II (mother of twins)
Masobesi III
Masika = Simonile

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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TABLE (c) *See pp.* 244–250.

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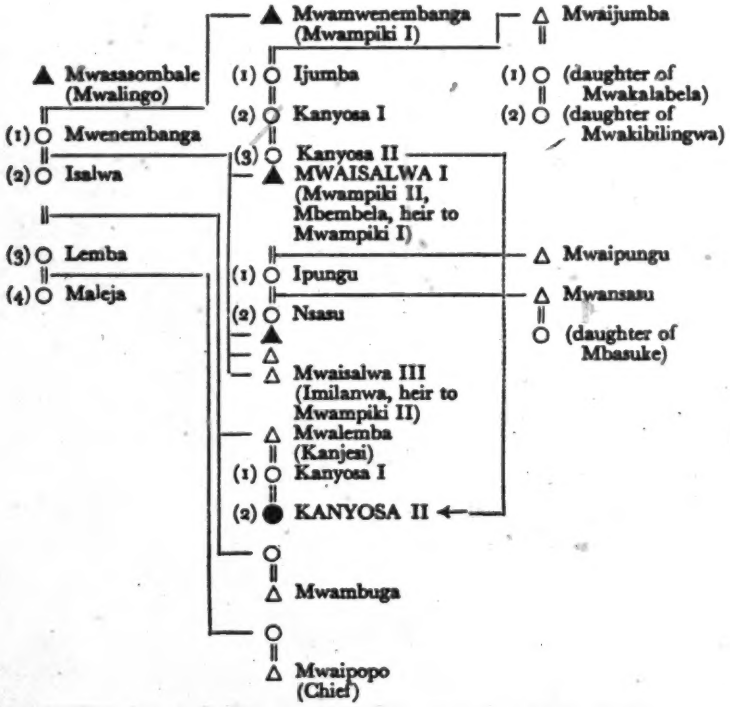
TRUNCATED GENEALOGY OF MWAMPIKI TO SHOW RELATIONSHIP OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN TEXT

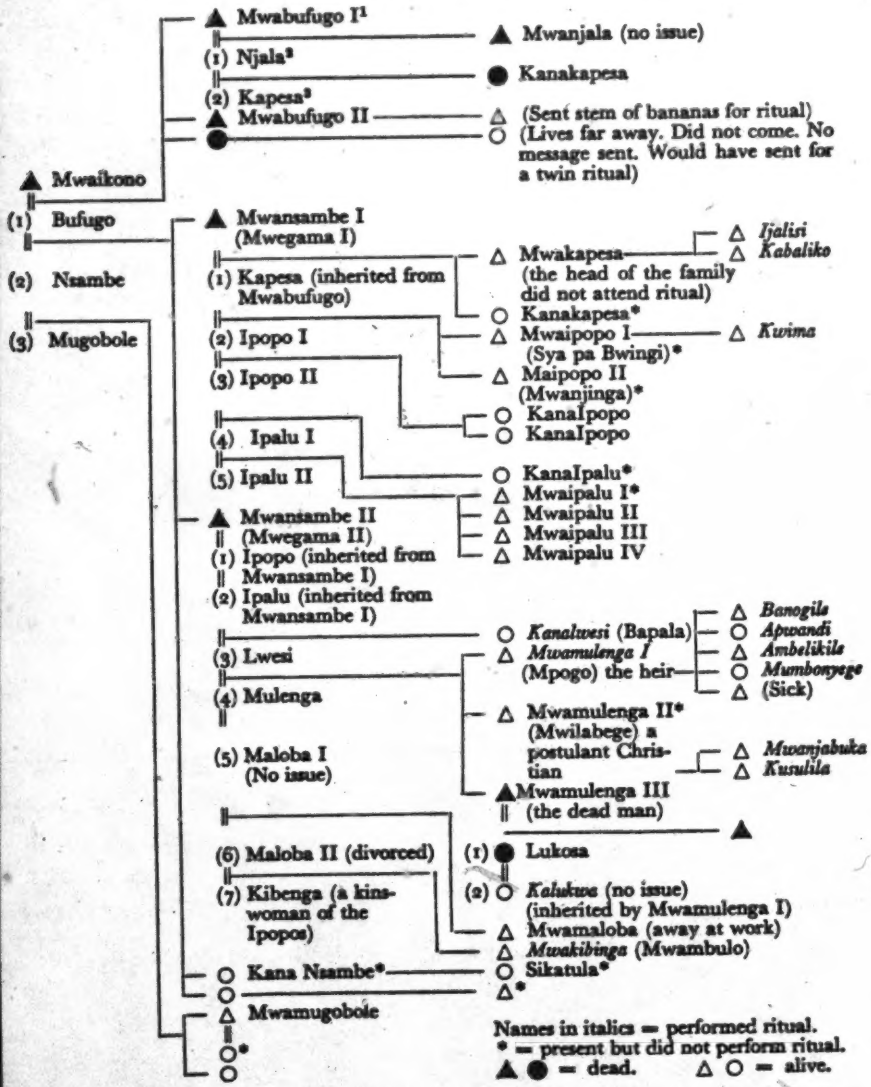


Key: △ ○ = alive. ▲ ● = dead.
Names in Capitals = persons for whom rituals were performed.

 601 764

TABLE (d)

GENEALOGY OF MWAMULENGA III, SON OF MWEGAMA (DEATH RITUAL)



[1] Mwabufugo I was a village headman. The people refused Mwabufugo II (his rightful heir) as headman and the office fell to Mwansambe.
[2] Njala was divorced. Her cattle went to Mwabufugo II.
[3] Kapesa refused Mwabufugo II and went to Mwansambe.
Note. Inheritance by an elder brother was possible in this case because he had not inherited from his father.

[p. 274 is blank]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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△ *Sola*
‖——*and child*
○ *Maseka*
△ *Bwelo*
‖——*and child*
○ *Sandekile*
△ *Mwasika*
‖
○ (Child at home.) She will be given lees when she comes to her husband
○ (*took part*)
‖——————————○
△ Lusabelo (at Iringa) △
Away 5 years. Wife waiting

○ (*took part*)
‖
△ Mapesa
○ (*took part*)
‖
△ Mwasengole
○ (*took part*)
‖
△ Mwasota

Key: △ ○ = alive. ▲ ● = dead.
Name in capitals = Widow inherited. Names in italics = participated in ritual. † = Christian.

Participants:

Men of lineage	11	Father + his full brother + 4/6 his half-brothers + widow's 2 full brothers + 2/3 half-brothers; son of half-brother.
Daughters of lineage	18	6/8 half-sisters (1 Christian, 1 away), 8/10 father's half-sisters (1 Christian, 1 away did not), 4 unmarried daughters of half-brother.
Wives	32	Mother, 2 co-wives of mother, 2 wives of father's brother, 15 wives of father's half-brothers (including chief) (1 sick, drank at home), 3 Christian did not come, 4 wives of own full brothers, 3 wives of half-brothers, 1 widow of grandfather, 4 wives of father's half-brother's sons.
Children		of brothers, of father's brothers, and half-brothers.

N.B. Sons-in-law do not participate.

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[Facing P. 274 (A)]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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(7) ○ Nsole (inherited by Mwasalemba)

○ Malija† (Did not come, no medicine sent)
△ Ulinyelusi†

○
△ Filipo† (Gone to Dar-es-Salaam)

△ *Johani*
(1) ○ *Ngota*
children
(2) ○ *Sambwele*

○ (*took part*)
Kilongo
△ Undekile

○ (*took part:* came without children)
△ Mpekele

○ (*took part*)
△ Mwasota

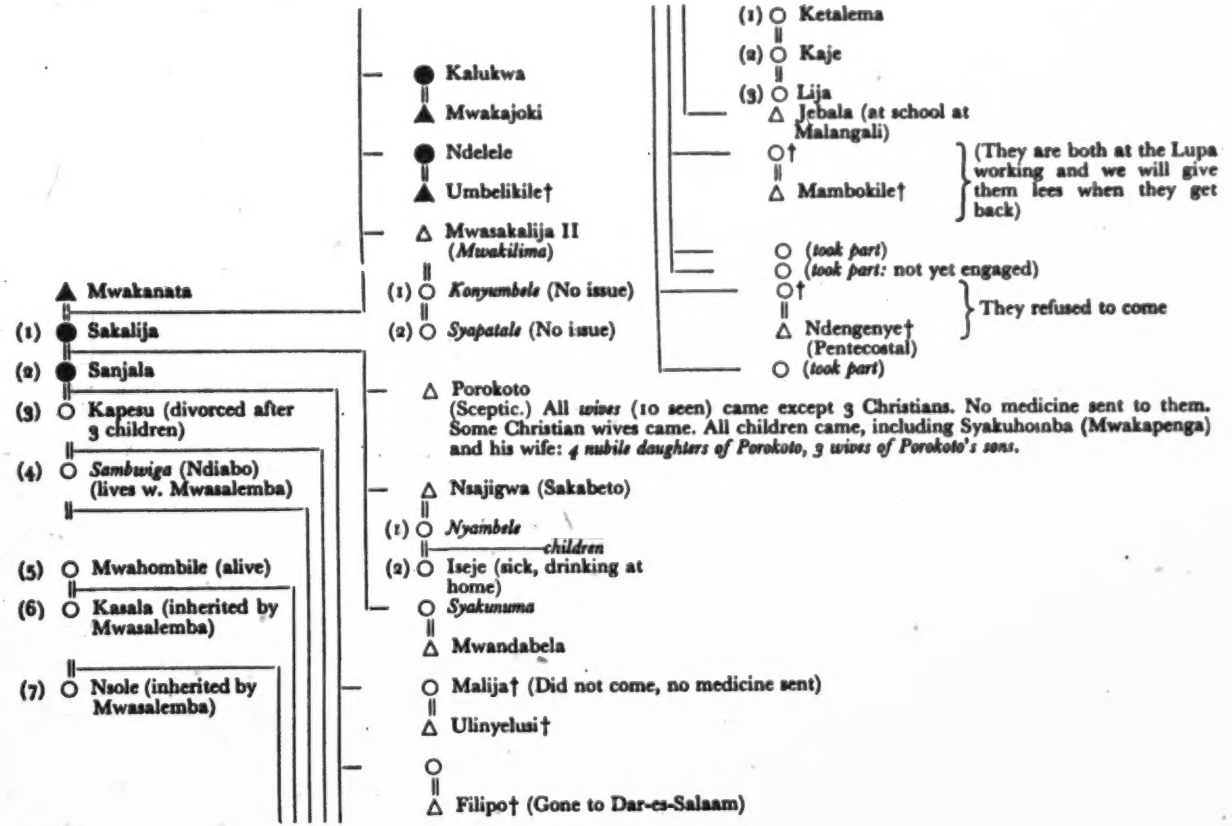
▲
●
△ *Sola*
and child
○ *Maseka*
△ *Buelo*
and child
○ *Sandekile*
△ *Mwasika*

○ (Child at home.) She will be given lees when she comes to her husband
○ (*took part*)
△ Lusabelo (at Iringa)
Away 5 years. Wife waiting

○
△

[FACING P.274 (B)]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa


Kalukwa
Mwakajoki
Ndelele
Umbelikile†
Mwasakalija II (*Mwakilima*)
(1) ○ *Konyumbele* (No issue)
(2) ○ *Syapatale* (No issue)
▲ Mwakanata
(1) ● Sakalija
(2) ● Sanjala
(3) ○ Kapesu (divorced after 3 children)
(4) ○ *Sambwiga* (Ndiabo) (lives w. Mwasalemba)
(5) ○ Mwahombile (alive)
(6) ○ Kasala (inherited by Mwasalemba)
(7) ○ Nsole (inherited by Mwasalemba)
(1) ○ Ketalema
(2) ○ Kaje
(3) ○ Lija
△ Jebala (at school at Malangali)
○† ‖ △ Mambokile† } (They are both at the Lupa working and we will give them fees when they get back)
○ (*took part*)
○ (*took part:* not yet engaged)
○† ‖ △ Ndengenye† (Pentecostal) } They refused to come
○ (*took part*)
△ Porokoto (Sceptic.) All *wives* (10 seen) came except 3 Christians. No medicine sent to them. Some Christian wives came. All children came, including Syakuhoinba (Mwakapenga) and his wife: *4 nubile daughters of Porokoto, 3 wives of Porokoto's sons.*
△ Nsajigwa (Sakabeto)
(1) ○ *Nyambele* — *children*
(2) ○ Iseje (sick, drinking at home)
○ *Syakunuma* ‖ △ Mwandabela
○ Malija† (Did not come, no medicine sent) ‖ △ Ulinyelusi†
○ ‖ △ Filipo† (Gone to Dar-es-Salaam)

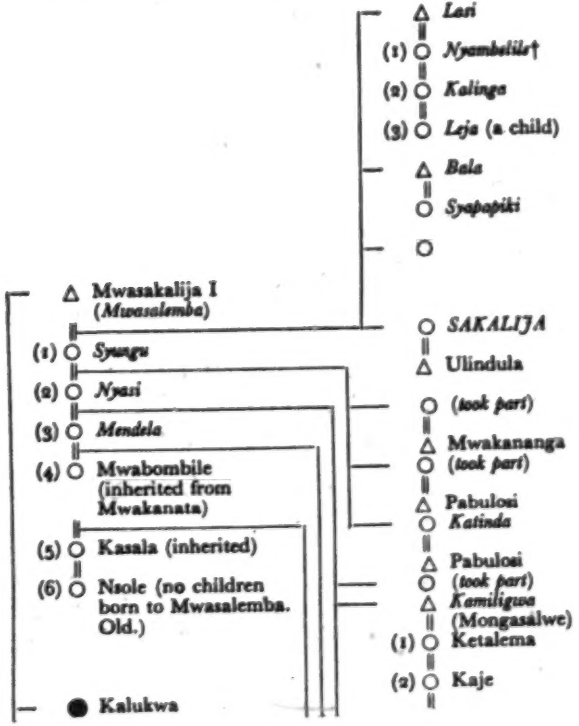
[facing p. 274 (C)]

● 601 763 768

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

TABLE (c) (*See pp.* 43, 192).

GENEALOGY OF MWASALEMBA (RITUAL OF THE GASPING COUGH)



[facing p. 274(D)]

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768

4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

602 important relationships of kinship and affinity. Marriage cattle are not kept by the bride's father, but are distributed by him among her brothers for their marriages, and among his own brothers and half-brothers, who in turn give him cattle when their own daughters marry.

595 Half-brothers do not generally exchange cattle, but unless they do so there are no strong bonds of kinship between them. A polygynist usually creates the relationship of 'milking each other's cows', between his senior son and the eldest of each group of full-brothers by his other wives. He gives some of the marriage cows received for a daughter to one of her half-brothers, the latter being placed under an obligation to return the cows to the girl's eldest full brother some day from the marriage cattle of a sister or daughter of his own. The exchange once begun usually continues as sisters and daughters marry, and only lapses in the third generation, unless the principals quarrel and take legal action for 'separation'. Then a balance is drawn up of the cows exchanged from the beginning of the relationship, and the kinship is broken. The two thus 'separated' have no mutual obligations and do not attend each other's funerals.

602 428 Half-brothers may be linked by blood if their mothers are close kin; they may also be linked by cattle exchanges. The laws of inheritance make the full brothers of a man his first heirs, then his half-brothers linked by blood, then those linked by cattle have precedence over other half-brothers.[1]

604 The bond between a man and his mother's brother is expressed in terms of the passage of cattle. As the mother's brother married with the mother's cattle, her eldest son has the right to make free with his property in his lifetime, the right to receive one cow to set up a herd of his own, and a residuary right of inheritance; if the mother's brother dies without heir, her son can claim the particular wife obtained with and the particular progeny of the cattle given for his own mother.

606 There is a strict custom of father and daughter-in-law avoidance. A woman may never speak to, approach, or look at her husband's father, on pain of death through the witchcraft of indignant neighbours. The prohibition is extended from her own father-in-law to all his classificatory brothers, and is the basis of the age-village system.[2] A man must also avoid his mother-in-law, but this prohibition is relaxed after the birth of a child.[3] The affinal relationship is also expressed by the obligation of a man to bring a cow to the funeral of his wife's father or brother, and to give one at the death of his own son-in-law. The former may count as part of his marriage payments in case of a claim for refund.[4]

601 The main kinship terms are as follows:

Ndamu = brother-in-law or sister-in-law; used by a man for all husbands of his 'sisters', all 'brothers' of his wives, and for the son of his wife's brother, since he has a right to marry that man's sister; by a woman for all wives of her 'brothers' and all 'sisters' of her husband.

Nhugho = parent-in-law or child-in-law; used for the husband of a daughter, or for the parent of a wife or husband (a daughter-in-law is called by the special name of *Nhamumamu*). The wife of the wife's brother *is* called *Nhugho*, as she is the mother of a potential wife, and of a brother-in-law.

[1] Wilson, 2, 1936, p. 265; 4, 1939, p. 2.
[2] Ibid., 2, 1936, pp. 267–8; Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 43 and 106.
[3] Sanderson, 3, 1923, p. 454. [4] Wilson, 4, 1939.

4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

601 *Mwisukulu* = grandparent or grandchild; but a man addresses his male grandparents as *Mwisangu* (my compeer) and his female grandparents as *Nkasi* (wife). A woman addresses her male grandparents as *Ndume* (husband) and her female grandparents as *Mwisangu* (my compeer).

Ndume = husband, extended for a woman to include the husbands of 'sisters', male grandparents, male grandchildren, husbands of female grandparents or grandchildren; all 'brothers' of a husband, husband of a father's sister, and grandfathers of a husband, and finally, the husband's sister's son.

Nkasi = wife; for a man it includes the wives of 'brothers', female grandparents and grandchildren, or wives of male ones; all sisters of wife, daughters of wife's brothers, wives of grandsons by marriage, the 'grandmothers' of a wife, and the wife of a maternal uncle.[1]

605 The Ngonde do not seem to distinguish cross-cousins from ortho-cousins as clearly as do the Maravi, or the Yao, Makua, and Makonde peoples.

MARRIAGE

582 There are no exogamous clans, but the descendants of a common grandfather (either paternal or maternal) are forbidden to marry.[2] The descendants of a common great-grandfather are supposed not to marry, but sometimes they do so before the relationship is discovered; they then simply drink a special medicine, but do not break the marriage. The old men speak of a now abandoned custom of preferential cross-cousin marriage.[3] The husband of the eldest girl of a family has the prior right to marry her full sisters, and such marriages are very common. A man also has the right to marry the daughter of his wife's brother, therefore the wife of the wife's brother is classed as a parent-in-law in kinship terminology.[4]

583 The passage of cattle makes children of a marriage legitimate. A child of a man who has given no cattle belongs either to the mother's husband or to her father. Cattle are in rapid circulation. Few men possess more than six cows at any time, yet marriage payments range from four to thirty cows (formerly only one or two were given). Marriage involves considerable expenditure and months of preliminary economic activity.[5] The cattle are seldom handed over all at once, but in ones or twos over a period of years. Full brothers have a claim to the cattle of their sister's marriage, and at the marriage of his eldest daughter the father hands one of the cows to the village headman.[6]

584 A girl commonly goes to visit and sleep with her betrothed husband for several years before she finally sets up house for him. The ideal procedure is by negotiation with the girl's father, but a man without cows may run off with a girl and satisfy her father with cows later on, or a man with cattle may seduce a married woman and pay her husband the adultery fine of two cows, plus the cows originally given for her marriage. A girl may be betrothed before puberty, and may visit her husband, but she is supposed to be virgin at her initiation ceremony, and is generally not allowed to

[1] Sanderson, 3, 1923. [3] Mackenzie, 1925, p. 55.

[2] See Wilson, 2, 1936, p. 267; but according to Sanderson, 3, 1923, p. 453, cross-cousins are classed as sisters, and all first cousins are unmarriageable; according to Johnston, 1897, p. 415, and to Mackenzie 1925, p. 55, cousin marriage was not allowed.

[4] Wilson, 2, 1936, p. 262; Sanderson, op. cit., p. 451.

[5] Wilson and Hunter, 1939, p. 11. [6] Mackenzie, 1925, p. 65.

7: Sanderson 45 (ca. 1920) 1923 FN17 Ngonde FN17

THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEMS OF THE WANGONDE AND WAHENGA TRIBES, NYASALAND.

By MEREDITH SANDERSON, M.R.C.S., F.R.G.S.

I.—THE WANGONDE.

1. THE Wangonde are a Bantu tribe inhabiting that part of Central Africa adjacent to the north-west shores of Lake Nyasa. They are a somewhat primitive people, as yet little contaminated by European civilization; they are intensely conservative and their customs differ from those of neighbouring tribes. As a result of this conservatism their system of relationship still bears, in its nomenclature, evidence of its evolution from exogamy in its most primitive form, and of all Nyasaland tribes the Wangonde have probably been least influenced by contact with others. In recent history they were victimised from time to time both by Arab slavers and by the Angoni, but neither appear to have left any trace of their domination. It should be mentioned, however, that the chieftainship was usurped some 10 (?) generations ago by an adventurer who, according to tradition, came from the north-west (towards Tanganyika) and whose descendants still form the ruling caste. It may be that some new customs were introduced at this time, though this is denied by the descendants of the old nobility, who still retain a large share of influence in tribal council.

2. *Definitions.*—ILUMBU = "brother"[1] to "sister," or "sister" to "brother." A man calls his elder "brother" *mkulusungu*; a younger one *nsung'wasi*: the same terms are used by a woman for her "sisters." All children of uncles and aunts are regarded as "brothers" and "sisters," including those of maternal uncle and of paternal aunt; those of father's elder "brother," of mother's elder "sister," and of mother's "brother," are called *wakulu*, irrespective of age.

The term *wamyitu* is often used, irrespective of sex, as alternative for "brother" or "sister"; its real meaning is rather "kinsman," and it may also be used for any relative or connection except the age-classes immediately above or below that of the speaker (*e.g.*, father or son), as it implies a degree of intimacy not permitted with those degrees. *Wamyitu* means "my" (lit. "our") "kinsman"; the second and third persons are *wamyinu* and *wamyao* respectively: there is no singular form.

[1] The use of inverted commas with English terms of relationship indicates that they are used in the full classificatory sense.

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MWIKANGU (" my compeer "—other forms, *mwinako*, " thy " or " one's compeer," *mwinake*, *mwinetu*, *mwininu*, *mwinao*, " his," " our," " your," " their compeer "; plural, *winangu*, etc.). This term is used much as *wanyitu*, but its meaning is slightly different, as it definitely implies equality, and may be applied to a companion as opposed to a relative. When coupled to a term of relationship it has the meaning of " fellow," *e.g.*, *nkasi-mwinangu*, " my fellow-wife "; or it indicates an absence of formality in intercourse with that degree of relationship. Thus *mwirukulu-mwinangu* is always used in preference to *mwirukulu* by itself, and indicates that a grandson is treated as a " brother," a younger " brother," but an equal.

NDAMU is used by a man for men only and by a woman for women only. Of a man the term includes the husbands of his " sisters " and the " brothers " of all women who are his *wakasi*. A woman's *ndamu* are the wives of her " brothers " and the " sisters " of any man whom she calls *ndume*. (See *nkasi* and *ndume*.)

NKOMBO (" thy " or " one's *nko-*") is the husband of a daughter, or the parent, male or female, of a wife or husband. Seeing that a grand-daughter is called *nkasi*, it is possible that a man formerly married the daughter of his daughter, and called the husband of his daughter *nkopko* as a potential father-in-law.[1] If this be so, it would suggest that marriage with a son's daughter was not permitted, as the term *nkopko* may be used for either a man or a woman, and a son's wife is always called *nkamatema*, never *nkopko*. The use of the term *nkasi* for the daughter of a son may have arisen subsequently, by analogy, after marriage with a daughter's daughter had fallen into desuetude. A senior *nkopko* (*e.g.*, parent of wife) is usually addressed as *Tata* or *Yaya*, and a son-in-law as *mwanangu*.

MWIRUKULU = any grand-relation, male or female: it includes grandfather and grandmother, grandson and grand-daughter. A male *mwirukulu* is called *mwinangu* by a man and *ndume* by a woman; a female *mwirukulu* is called *nkasi* by a man and *mwinangu* by a woman. (See also para. 3 (4) below.)

NYENYA (*cf.* the ChiHenga word *nyenye* = " far ") is a great grand-relation, male or female, senior or junior.

NKATINKATI similarly is a great-great-grand-relation of any kind.

NKASI includes wife of a " brother," uterine or otherwise; female *wirukulu*, including wives of " grandsons " and of " grandfathers," but excluding " grand-daughters " of wife; all " sisters " of a wife; daughters of a wife's " brothers "; wives of " grandsons " by marriage, and the " grandmothers " of a wife; wife of maternal uncle; and, of course, own wife.

Similarly NDUME includes husband of a " sister "; male *wirukulu* including husbands of " grand-daughters " and of " grandmothers "; all " brothers " of a husband; sons of all " sisters " of a husband; husband of father's " sister ";

[1] Mrs. Seligman called to my notice a similar possibility among the WaYao, and I am indebted to her for the suggestion.

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601 husbands of "grand-daughters" by marriage (but not "grandsons" by marriage); the "grandfathers" of a husband; and own husband.

TATA includes own father, his "brothers" and "sisters," and the husband of father's "sister"; also husband of mother's sister. By courtesy the term is used for all "fathers" of a wife or husband (instead of *nkogho*), or to any superior in station or age, whether related or not.

YUWA (mother) includes own mother, her "brothers" and "sisters" the wives of the father's "brothers" and the wives of a woman's maternal uncle. The term may also be used for the mothers of a wife or husband, or as a mere term of respect.

These terms (TATA and YUWA) are used only in speaking of one's own fathers or mothers, the possessive adjective, "my" or "our," being invariably omitted. For other persons, the old Bantu words WISE and NYINA are substituted; *e.g.*, *ghuso*, *wise*, *wisemwe*, *wisao* ("thy," "his," "your," "their father"), plurals *awatata*, *awauso*, *awawise*, etc. ("my" or "our," "thy," "his fathers," etc.). So *unyoko*, *unyina*, *unyinemwe*, *unyinawo* ("thy," "his," "your," "their mother"), plurals *awayuwa*, *awanyoko*, *awanyina*, etc. ("my" or "our," "thy," "his mother").

MWANA = son or daughter, including, of course, those of "brothers" and "sisters," and of wife.

NKAMWANA, obviously derived from *nkazi wa mwana* ("wife of a son"), may be used by either a man or a woman for that degree of relationship.

MWEGHANISI (= *mu-egha-na-unwe*, "marry with us," from *kwegha*, "to marry") or KITWASI (= *Ki-twala-na-unwe*, "marry with us," from *kutwala*, "to marry"). [177] The former is said to be a *Kinyakyusa* word,[1] now in general use, and the latter the old *Kingonde* word; either may be used to denote a paramour of one's wife, and as a result the term *mwinangu* is usually added when referring to a husband of the speaker's potential wife, which is its special meaning, in order to deprive it of any suggestion of offence.

NKASI-MWINANGU ("my fellow-wife") is the corresponding term used by a woman for the wife of a potential husband, but it is not generally used among the potential wives of a man, as such. The actual wives of a man, however, refer to each other by means of this term, and to their husband's potential wives.

NASENGE denotes a father's sister of either a man or a woman, and reciprocally a "brother's" child of a woman. It probably has reference to the right of marriage possessed by a man with the daughter of his wife's "brother." (See para. 3 (3) below.)

MWIPWA includes mother's brother and sister's son or daughter of a man, and mother's brother of a woman. A woman calls her sister's son *ndume*. (See para. 3 (6) below.)

[1] The Wanyakyusa are a tribe racially allied to the Wankonde, and inhabiting neighbouring territory.

7: Sanderson U-5 (ca. 1920) 1923 FN17 Ngonde FN17

MWIKO is very nearly a translation of the word *tabu*, and may be used either of things or of forbidden degrees of relationship. 601

3. The following points are noteworthy :—

(1) The wife of a "brother," whether older or younger, uterine or not, is called by the same term (*nkasi*) as a wife. I am informed that sexual intercourse, though not countenanced, is not uncommon, and such cases are apt to be treated leniently should they come to (native) court. This might be regarded as evidence of former "group marriages," but it should be noted that a man's first heir is his brother, who succeeds to the wives in common with the rest of the "property." 601 602 837

The same term (*ndume*) is used by a woman for the "brothers" of her husband as for the husband himself, and their wives are *wakasi-winake* (= "her fellow-wives"). 601

(2) The "sisters" of a wife are also called *nkasi*. The husband of the eldest of a family has a prior right to marry her uterine sisters, and a semi-right to her other "sisters"; such marriages are very common. Any man who marries a woman to whom another has a prior right becomes *mweghanisi* (or *kitwasi*) to the ousted one. (See Definitions.) Reciprocally a woman calls her "sister's" husband *ndume*, even after her marriage to another. 601 595

(3) A man has the right to marry the daughter of his wife's "brother" as among the Thonga,[1] and the wife of the wife's "brother" is called *nkogho* (see Definitions); the son of the wife's "brother" is often called *ndamu* instead of *mwana*. There is a special term for a father's sister, which is reciprocally used by a woman for her "brother's" daughter; the term *nkasi-mwinangu* (= "my fellow-wife") does not appear to be used by her unless and until her husband actually marries the girl. This special term is *nasenge*, and it can hardly be mere coincidence that it so closely resembles the Nandi term *senget* for father's sister[2] (*na-* being a common Bantu prefix, usually honorific, and, on the other hand, the terminal *-t* merely formative). 582 601

A woman calls the son of her husband's "sister" *ndume*. (See para. (6) below.)

(4) All "grand-daughters," except those by marriage, are called *nkasi*, but marriage has never been allowed within living memory; the husband of these "grand-daughters" are called *mweghanisi* (*kitwasi*). A "grandson" is not called *ndamu* but (*mwisukulu*) *mwinangu* (= "my compeer");

[1] B. Z. Seligman, "The relationship systems of the Nandi, Masai and Thonga, *Man*, April, 1917, 46 (quoting Junod).

[2] Seligman, *loc. cit.*, quoting Hollis, "The Nandi."

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his wife is called *nkasi*, like the wife of a "brother," not *nkogho*. This appears to be the result of the law that a man may have to marry his "grandmothers." (See para. 5.)

Similarly a woman calls her "grandson" *ndume*, and his wife *nkasi-mwinangu*.

No distinction is made between the offspring of a "son" and that of a "daughter," either by a man or a woman.

"Grand-daughters" by marriage are not called *nkasi* by a man, nor are "grandsons" by marriage called *ndume* by a woman: the term *mwisukulu-mwinangu* is used in either case. It is of interest to note, however, that the wives and husbands of these relations are called *nkasi* and *ndume* respectively, which is evidently a relic of the period when the whole tribe was divided into two classes, marriageable and unmarriageable: since a "grandchild" by marriage belonged to the latter class, his or her spouse must be included in the former.

(5) All "grandmothers" are termed *nkasi*, except perhaps the sisters of the paternal grandfather; some say that these should be classed as "sister," as the sister of one's *mwinangu* (grandfather), because *nkasi* would not be polite to the *nasenge* of one's father. Others deny this and include all grandmothers as *nkasi*, and it is doubtful whether the objection is not modern. The same applies to the "grandmothers" of a wife.

A man often has to marry his "grandmothers" on the death of his "grandfather," though if the latter were a chief or a rich man the heir would probably marry them as part of the property. The rule appears to be that it is the duty of any man to marry his "grandmothers" if they are destitute.

A woman calls all her "grandfathers" *ndume*, though actual marriage is not permitted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to analogy with the relationship of a man to his "grandmother," or is the corollary of that to his "grand-daughter." Since marriage with a "grand-daughter" is not uncommon in other tribes, it may be that it was originally the reason for a woman calling her grandfather *ndume* among the Wangonde, but that the persistence of the terminology after such a marriage came to be regarded as incestuous is partly due to analogy.

As a result of the similarity of relationship between grandparents and grandchildren the same term *mwisukulu* is used for both. There was formerly a special term for grandparents (*mbuya*), but it is now obsolete.

(6) The relationship between mother's "brother" and "sister's" son is peculiar, in that the term is used reciprocally (*mwipwa*). A man calls the wife of his

7: Sanderson U-5 (ca. 1920) 1923 FN17 Ngonde FN17

maternal uncle *nkasi*, and she calls him *ndume*. As a sister's son comes very low down in the table of succession, this cannot be due to their prospective relationship should the maternal uncle die, and it may be that the relationship of husband's sister's son is (or was) regarded as analogous to that of wife's brother's daughter. On the other hand, if the father of X exercises his right to marry his wife's brother's daughter, this girl, from being the "sister" of X, becomes his "mother," and her mother (the wife of X's maternal uncle) becomes his "grandmother" and therefore his *nkasi*.

(7) Cross-cousins are classed as "brothers" and "sisters," and all first cousins are, therefore, unmarriageable.

(8) It is of interest to note that a kind of marriage by capture is still in vogue among the Wangonde. It may be performed either with or without the consent of the woman, but, except in the case of a woman to whom the man has a right by relationship, her father's sanction is necessary, and at least part of the dowry must be paid beforehand: usually, the woman is aware that the marriage has been proposed.

The bridegroom, assisted by some friends, either lies in wait for the woman, on the way to the water-supply for instance, or decoys her out of the village by means of a spurious message, and carries her off to his home. Her relatives would be bound in honour to rescue her if the bridegroom were so maladroit as to make it impossible for them to affect ignorance of the abduction. It is said that the marriage is sometimes consummated by force with the assistance of the companions of the bridegroom: in any case, a small present to the girl personally is necessary before consummation.

4. *Succession.*—The order of succession is liable to modification if the legal heir is considered unsuitable for any reason. The relationships are put in the following order of precedence:—

(1) Younger brother by same father and mother.

(2) Younger brother by same father and different mother.

(3) Any younger "brother."

Note.—It would be considered *infra dig.* for an elder "brother" to take the name of his junior, so that, although he has a prior right to the property, he would appoint a younger "brother" to the name. In such a case he may choose which of the "wives" of the deceased he likes, in addition to the cattle.

(4) Eldest surviving son (own begetting).

(5) Eldest son of elder brother (by the same father).

(6) Eldest son of younger brother (by the same father).

8: Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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593 holding of land and the economics of life in general, the rules and procedure of law, the emotional forms of ceremony, the dogma, rite, morality and symbol of religion, the forms of knowledge and opinion—all are interpenetrated by these relationships.

593 595 The word *family* is used in this paper to mean the organized group of a man, his wife or wives, and their children of any age, but not to include any other relatives. A Nyakyusa family, as we shall see, does not become extinct when the father dies; his younger full-brother or his senior son steps into his place and the group continues very much as before. In this society families are sometimes monogamous, sometimes polygynous; and, in consequence, two more relationships with which we are not familiar in our own culture are included in the Nyakyusa family; one is the relationship of co-wives and the other is that of half-siblings. Within a ploygynous family the different wives and their respective children form groups to some extent distinct from one another; and the term *individual family* is here used to denote the group of a man, one wife and their children, whether that group is part of a polygynous family or forms a complete monagamous family by itself.

593 595 601 The Nyakyusa themselves have no separate word for either of these small groups; the word *ekekɔlɔ* is sometimes used in the restricted sense to which we have here confined the word "family," but more usually means the whole of any single person's recognized blood kindred, living or dead, both in the male and female lines; and it is translated in this paper as *kindred*, *kinsfolk*, or *kinsmen*. They also have a word *ovokamu* which includes the whole of any one person's *ekekɔlɔ* together with all his recognized affines, and this is here translated *relatives*. The term *affines* is used to translate the Nyakyusa word *avakɔ*, which is identical in meaning with it.

[585] [435] 436 Marriage is legally effected by the handing over of four to thirty cows, together with one or two bulls, by the groom to his wife's father. And this transfer of cattle is the key to the whole Nyakyusa system of blood and affinal relationship. Cattle have a very high value because of their production of milk and meat, which are the most highly prized foods, and because of their scarcity; they are in constant circulation, and by their movement from one man to another they forever create and maintain the bonds of kinship and affinity. Cattle circulate rapidly; few except chiefs have more than six cows in their herds at any one time, more often each man has only two or three, while some have no cows at all; and yet every mature man has paid out, for his own and his sons' marriages, five, ten or twenty times the number of cattle that he at